

Prabuddha Bharata

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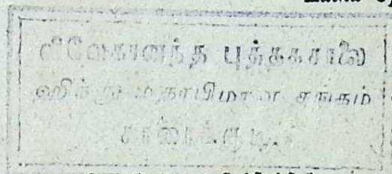
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Awakened India



उचिष्ठत जामत प्राप्य वराभिबोधत ।

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Prabuddha Bharata

उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत



प्राप्य वरासिबोधत ।

Katha Upa. I. iii. 4

Arise! Awake! And stop not till the Goal is reached.

—Swami Vivekananda.

[Vol. XXII]

JANUARY 1917

[No. 246]

CONVERSATIONS AND DIALOGUES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.

(RECORDED BY A DISCIPLE.)

VII.

[Place: Calcutta. Year: 1897.

Subjects: *The formation by Swamiji of the Ramkrishna Mission in Calcutta after convening all the followers of Sri Ramakrishna.*]

Swamiji had been staying for some days at the house of the Late Balaram Babu. He having invited the householder followers of Paramahansa-deva to meet together to-day, a large number of devotees had assembled at the house at 3 P. M. Swami Yogananda was amongst those present there. The object of Swamiji was to form an association. When all present had taken their seats, Swamiji proceeded to speak as follows :

"The conviction has been produced in my mind after all my travels in various lands that no great cause can succeed without organisation. In a country like ours, however, it does not seem much practicable to me to start at once with a democratic form of organisation or with giving votes to all. Men in the West are more educated in this respect, and less jealous of one another than ourselves. They have learnt to respect merit. I was,

for instance, just an insignificant man there, and yet see how much they did to receive and take care of me. When with the spread of education the masses in our country would grow more sympathetic and broad,—when they would learn how to have their thoughts expanded beyond the limits of sect or party, then it would be possible to work on the democratic basis of organisation. For this reason it is necessary to have one as a sort of dictator for this society. Everybody should obey him, and then in time we may work on the principle of every one having a voice."

"Let this association be established in his name, in whose name, indeed, we have embraced the Sannyasa, with whom as your Ideal in life you all toil on the field of work from your station in family-life, within twenty years of whose passing away a wonderful diffusion of his holiness and name has taken

place both in the East and the West. We are the servants of the Lord. Be you all helpers in this cause."

When Srijut Girish Chandra Ghosh and all other householder disciples present had approved of the above proposal, the future programme of this society of Sri Ramakrishna was taken up for discussion. The society was named the Ramkrishna Mission. We quote below the aims and objects of the society from the printed notice then in circulation.

Its Objects:— The aim of the Mission is to propagate those principles which Sri Ramakrishna used to teach for the good of mankind and which have become demonstrated through his life, and also to help in the application of those principles to the physical, mental and spiritual advancement of men.

Its Solemn Vow:— To carry on the work of establishing unity and harmony among all the different religionists, a work which Sri Ramakrishna inaugurated recognising all the different faiths and persuasions of the world as the diverse modifications of the one and the same undecaying eternal Religion, is the solemn vow of the Mission.

Its plan of work:— To train up qualified men to impart education with a view to the secular and spiritual progress of men; to encourage the pursuit of arts and the industries as means of earning livelihood; and to spread the culture of Vedanta including other spiritual ideals as embodied and interpreted in the life of Sri Ramakrishna.

Its special programme for India:— The establishment of Ashrama centres in the cities of India for training up Sannyasins and householders willing to consecrate themselves to the vow of the Acharya or teachership and the adoption of proper means to enable them to go to different countries for preaching to the people there.

Its special programme of foreign work:— To send out consecrated missionaries to countries outside India; to promote unity and co-operation between the Indian and foreign centres and to establish new ones there.

Swamiji himself became the general president of the Mission and Swami Brahmananda became the president of the Calcutta centre with Swami Yogananda as his vice-president. Babu Narendranath Mitra, Attorney-at-law, was elected the secretary, with Dr. Sasibhusan Ghosh and Babu Saratchandra Sircar as his assistants and the disciple was appointed the scriptural reader to the society. The rule was laid down that the association shall sit in meeting at the house of Balaram Babu every Sunday at 4 P. M., and for three years after this first meeting, the Ramkrishna Mission met in Balaram Babu's house every Sunday. Needless to specify that until Swamiji had again to leave for the West, he used to frequent the meetings of the Mission whenever convenient and charm the audience sometimes with his instructive addresses and sometimes with songs rendered with the heavenly sweetness of his voice.

(To be continued).

OCCASIONAL NOTES.

THE Prabuddha Bharata goes forth this month from its Himalayan home with greetings of the new year for all; and with the new year commences the twenty-second year of its journalistic life. In the midst of a celebration that marks the closing of any definite period of work and the freshening up for a

new one, friends are allowed among themselves to be somewhat self-communicative. So the P. B. (as the nickname in the office goes) takes this opportunity to have a talk with its readers on a subject of personal and mutual interest.

Well, dear readers, the P. B. confesses to a sense of inadequacy so far as its catering of spiritual food to earnest souls is concerned. It has been addressing itself more to the modest preliminary task of stimulating hunger than to that of satisfying it. Neither it is good, we may say, to count much on journalistic help for assuring to the soul that spiritual sustenance which has to be derived from more immediate and direct sources. But still, when the fullness of a devotional heart speaks through the columns of a journal it strikes kindred chords in the soul of the readers. The P. B. has not given much prominence to such a feature in its literary life, and that for two reasons.

In the first place, there are powerful tendencies working in the present epoch of human history which make it imperative that counteracting influences should be constantly brought to bear upon men so that they may not forget the supreme importance of religion in their life, both individual and collective. The very atmosphere of thought in the modern world is surcharged with a dominant spirit of secularism which tends to concede to religion only an apologetic existence recognised more in theory than in practice. Men clinging by all means to practical religion form only an insignificant set in all societies, and in the actual mechanism of social and collective life, a mechanism which everywhere serves to determine the trend of human progress, their influence is inappreciably small. So it should be the foremost object of all exponents of religious thought to put forth their best towards modifying this state of things.

Religion has already its many established ways of fulfilling the task of ministering to the spiritual needs of the small minority that still longingly place themselves under its dispensations, but the additional and more urgent task that it is called upon to undertake to-day is that of reasserting on the

minds of educated men its supreme importance for human life. And if the P. B. has occupied itself lately more with this latter task, it has evidently its incontrovertible justification. And this justification will certainly appear the more conclusive from the fact that there is hardly any religious journal in this country or elsewhere which aims at or succeeds in correctly interpreting the supreme importance of religion as the creative and governing factor in the upbuilding of collective life in the form for which there is the greatest demand in the modern age, namely its nationalistic form. The profound significance of religion in this respect is not only ignored by modern patriots, but has been sadly lost sight of even by leaders of religious thought in every country. We defy anybody to show us the single instance of any recognised religious thinker who ascends in thought from the individual to the national life and carries with him to the latter the same principle of paramount spiritual authority as he applies to the former. The fact is that the modern educated mind, be it religious or otherwise, is unconsciously under the spell of the materialistic doctrine of making the collective political interest unquestionably authoritative in the formation of our national life.

The P. B. has therefore to stand forth practically alone as the breaker of this insidious hypnotism. Even the very word 'nationalism' has come to mean a scheme of life governed essentially by the collective political interest, as if no other collective interest can be operative in rallying human beings into the form of a nation. This curious obsession of the political type of nation-building must be given a knock-out blow, if religion is to be restored to its governing authority in human life of the present age. For if it is religion which has to work off the beast in *man as the individual*, it is impossible to supplant it by any other ruling principle to ward or work off the beast in *man as the*

nation; and if any other principle is allowed to organise and govern all our collective spheres of life, the authority of religion, however vociferously acknowledged in theory, is bound to remain helplessly nugatory. So the greatest demand of our present-day thought-life is an aggressive interpretation of religion and its importance as the organising and governing principle of every form of collective life. Long and ungrudgingly has religion brought its solace and guidance to the individual in the pursuit of his individual problems of life, but the hour has struck all over the world when religion must come forth with its ungrudging offer to man of the only *real* solutions for all his collective problems of life.

And this urgent work, waiting for its future workers to come from every corner of the vast fields of human thought, the P. B. has undertaken boldly to pioneer with resources in men and money all-too incommensurate to all appearance. But, dear readers, that exactly is the strange way of the Sannyasin, the monk-soldier of religion. And had we a real impartial insight into the history of mankind, we could have found out the basic fountain-spring of all that is good and everlasting in human progress issuing as the Ganges from the hirsute crown of the divine Beggar. God is apt to make His tree of truth sprout forth from the desert, that man may not feel puffed up over the watering as the necessary condition of its growth. The Vedic text: सत्यमेव जयति नानृतं, "Truth alone triumphs, not the untruth," bears an important implication, and that is the utter futility of untruth to the triumph which truth wins for itself. But men are ever *seeking to utilise* the unreal, the untrue, for the sake of that triumph they wish truth to win on their behalf. Men always try to build on the composite foundation of truth and untruth, hardly believing that truth wins absolutely through its own strength, and that it should therefore be

absolutely left to truth itself as to how it would utilise the passing stream of things all around instead of ourselves fishing for favourable conditions. Be bold and face the truth with your whole being opening out to accept it, and when once accepted, let it work itself in and out, taking no thought as to what it makes of you, how it affects the likings and dislikings of the world or how it pays you in the currency of contemporaneous criticism. Assert the truth unreservedly in your own life and thought, and thereby you do the very best that truth can expect of you in order to assert itself in the life and thought of others.

This unqualified self-sufficiency of truth is the only ground of hope, otherwise the vastness of the issue and the scantiness of our present means to fight it out are such as to quail the stoutest heart into a compromise of silence. Add to this the fact that our voice has to be uttered, for some time yet, almost as if in a wilderness. The leading lights of our literature stand too high in their own pedestal to let fall their vaulting gaze on what they may easily set down as the obscure antics of a two-shillings monthly, religious and monastic to boot! The other day we found that about half-a-dozen of our well-known periodicals have thought it wise, for the sake of a saving in paper perhaps, to refuse the P. B. a courtesy of exchange that had obtained for a long period of its twenty-one years of life. But, on the other hand, from evidences cropping up here and there it has been given to us to make out that the advocacy of truth has an intrinsic warmth in it to thaw even the thickest ice of indifference, even though that indifference may in most instances at the outset glare up into opposition. The orthodoxy of opinion in vogue is no less hidebound than other well-known orthodoxies, and the same inertia of deep-grooved forces has to be reckoned with in every line of human progress. So on the wide circle of our readers we have to enjoin

patience, patience for all the reiteration that they find in the columns of the P. B. of the importance of spiritual nationalism for India and for Western countries. From what we have said above it is quite evident that the argument must have to be hammered on and conjugated, as they say, in all its moods, tenses and inflexions, till it digs itself deep into the very vitals of our present-day thought and culture.

Those of our esteemed readers, therefore, who are more eager for the immediate ministrations of religion than for arguments to establish its importance for human life, individual and collective, are requested to put up, for some time to come, with the limited space allotted in the P. B. for such ministrations. One reason for such limitation has already been explained and it is hoped that the supreme importance of the ground adduced in the explanation will carry conviction in the minds of all our readers. The other evident reason is the small size of the P. B., which is too obviously a heavy handicap, for it prevents us from providing any interesting variety of topics for each issue or maintaining different sections in it for such promising classification. One of the two factors which go to determine the size of the P. B. is the rate of subscription, which was fixed so low in view of the comparative indigence of our intellectual classes at large whose wide support the P. B. counts on as the desired foundation of its success. Where else are the students in the mass so poor as in India? And our testimony is that no section of our readers evince greater enthusiasm and love for the P. B. than the subscribing students, and may the Lord bestow His choicest blessings on that staunch, generous friend of the P. B. who chooses to remain nameless but whose "generous offer" makes it possible for at least a few hundreds of our student constituents to fulfil their mind's demand and heart's desire for the P. B.! As quite a wide circle of our student

population yet remains to be reached, we naturally expect this generous example of our friend to be emulated by others who can afford to do so.

We are naturally loth to interfere with the present rate of subscription precisely for the reason, suggested above, that the P. B. seeks, as before, to bring itself in touch more and more with the mass of our college-going population as well as with the overwhelming majority of English-educated people who are obliged, more or less, to adopt for themselves a policy of plain living and high thinking. So we have to fall back on the second factor calculated to determine the size of the journal, namely a steady growth in its circulation. That quite a vast ground yet remains to be easily covered in this direction is evident enough, for many instances accidentally come to our notice of people who were only too glad to make amends for their ignorance of what the P. B. is doing for educated men in India and abroad by subscribing to it directly they perused for the first time the contents of an issue. Neither advertising nor canvassing on any adequate scale, formal or informal has been undertaken for the P. B. for a long period of its existence. And anything done formally in this respect ultimately proves of less value than that informal way of enlisting active sympathy which consists in regular readers of the P. B. discussing its views among friends likely to take an interest in them. We think the largest proportion of new subscribers every year are introduced to us through a conscious or unconscious adoption of this informal method on the part of our old friends, and we conclude with the earnest request to our many well-wishers to try their best to serve the cause which the P. B. stands for by consciously bringing into the notice of their thoughtful friends and acquaintances the utility and desirability of reading for themselves the views and writings in the P. B.

INTELLECTUALISM AND VEDANTA.

DESPOTISM of the intellect is the keynote of the modern age, and the so-called empiricism in science, rationalism in philosophy and the doctrine of divine immanence in religion constitute, as it were, the all-powerful trident of this despotic authority.

For scientific empiricism does not mean the authority of the mere commonsense experience. The experience on which science builds is experience as treated through processes of the intellect. In the first place, the motive force with which science starts comes from the intellectual categories of causality and substance. Then the three forms of scientific activity,—observation, experiment and generalisation—seek to apply intellectual relations to all change and sequence in phenomenon. All these methods of enquiry presuppose rigid abstract concepts of intellectual thought. And lastly, there is a philosophy in science which serves to transform scientific conclusions into veritable truths, in spite of the fact that these conclusions are really mere suppositions or hypotheses having no finality in them.

By this subtle, implied philosophy science is practically pledged to a definite view of life and a definite theory of truth, for what we call scientific truths are nothing but a harmonious system of suppositions still in a process of verification, and they are accepted as truths only on the implicit authority of a pragmatic philosophy which denies a final or absolute nature to truth itself. But this pragmatism itself involves a final or absolute *view* of truth. The process of verification is claimed to be complete so far as the truth of this pragmatism is concerned. When you say that everything is in a process of pragmatic verification, you assert a final or absolute proposition, you reach the final limit of verification at least

with regard to *your own view* of verifiability. So in the light of this pragmatic philosophy, scientific conclusions are truths as much as any truth man may claim to have discovered. Scientific empiricism, therefore, derives much of its authority and justification from a definite philosophy, a definite mode of intellectual reasoning, for without this measure of justification and authority, scientific knowledge would remain merely hypothetical, not true in the sense in which we, modern men value it. And because we regard scientific knowledge as knowledge of truth, we go to judge even the highest God-vision as imperfect in point of omniscience or all-knowledge, if such vision is not supplemented by scientific knowledge. We think that the Rishi of the Upanishad who said : यस्मिन् विज्ञाते सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति, "by knowing whom all this becomes known," makes himself guilty of an exaggeration, because there is no evidence that such God-knowledge necessarily includes all the modern scientific knowledge. Thus, we assume scientific knowledge to be true knowledge, simply because, in the first place, our modern culture has accepted, implicitly or explicitly, the dictum of the pragmatic intellect claiming for itself a definite view of truth.

But science derives also a great measure of its authority and justification from another source. We accept scientific conclusions as truths because they are verified by their practical utility to that life in this world which we accept as pre-eminently true. What though there is no finality in scientific truths? Such finality or its absence does not count so long as a scientific conclusion or theory yields us something of practical utility in our life. If science by its insight into the workings of nature succeeds in constructing for us labour-saving or luxury-yielding machines,

then that insight for *our* practical purposes must be true. So here the way in which we want to live in this world gives us our criterion of truth, and according to that criterion the conclusions of science must needs be perfectly true. It does not matter if those conclusions have to rectify and restate themselves every now and then; what really matters to us is their cash-value which they never wholly lose through all their transformations,—the cash-value which brings to our life all its machines of material comfort and enterprise. Now, it is the intellect that recognises and ratifies all this value of science, because the intellect is like an agent or ally of the life which we seek to live in this world.

We find, therefore, that science is true, first because the pragmatic conception of truth makes it true knowledge; and secondly because it is true to that material basis which the intellect seeks to give to our life in the world. Both these circumstances establishing the truth of modern science flow evidently from the predominant authority of the intellect in asserting what is true for us and what is necessary for our life. So the peculiar empiricism of modern science, an empiricism which limits itself to the material range of human experience, derives all its truth, its dignity, its absolute character, from modern intellectualism. Had both our scientific and intellectual thought submitted itself to the higher authority of supra-intellectual experience, scientific empiricism would have necessarily assumed quite a different colour and complexion, and its fluctuating, indefinite system of conclusions could have been rendered more definite by some definite and final criteria of truth.

And to discover these final criteria of truth, or in other words, this finality in truth denied to scientific empiricism, the intellect has made it its business in another department of its activity which goes by the name of modern philosophy. Here in this department the intellect seeks to rise above the three-

fold process of scientific observation, experiment and generalisation and introduces a rationalising process which it holds superior to the former. But science naturally comes forward to contest this alleged superiority, pointing out that the safety of its empiricism is more to be valued in our quest of truth than the airiness of rationalising abstractions. The reply of the rationalising intellect is that the empiric and experimental sciences cannot carry men far into those final truths which form a rich inheritance of modern culture, so while recognising fully the utility of these sciences and their lower order of truths, the intellect must prove itself equal to the higher task of evolving out of itself the higher order of final truths. Modern rationalism was born of this ambition of modern intellectualism.

For, if we take Cartesian thought to be the starting-point of modern philosophy, we find that intellectualism had already begun to triumph in the domain of science over mediæval mysticism. The intellect had already reacted against the domination of what was called the higher spiritual experience and had started on a life of independence with its asset of the threefold scientific process. So it was but an extension of the same independence which the intellect had now to assert to snatch away both philosophy and religion from a despotism imposed in the name of spiritual faith and intuition; and this despotism had already been tottering to its fall since the revival of the ancient humanities and the revolt of science. So it gradually abdicated its absolute rights over philosophy and religion, and the intellect was left free to appropriate to itself those absolute rights, perhaps occasionally with a reverent note of dissent as in the case of the Scotch school of thought.

But in Descartes we find the intellect first falling back definitely upon its own resources to evolve, exclusively out of itself, a philosophy and, if possible, a religion. His

cogito ergo sum was the precursor of the whole rationalistic method of later ages, and gives its pedigree even to the Hegelian dialectics. The essence of the rationalistic method is intellectual introspection, a churning of the contents of the intellect to detect the logic of its working. According to Kant, this rationalising process falls short of the apprehension of ultimate reality and he found the latter only implied in the operations of the practical reason, in the categorical imperative of our ethical judgments. But his rationalistic successors went further and claimed that pure consciousness developing intellectual thought reveals to the latter its intrinsic nature, in which the absolute moves out of itself to become the relative, and this very movement must be the ultimate reality. The modern intellect in this way manufactured out of its own resources a philosophy of the Absolute, and sought thereby to restore to modern culture all those higher spiritual truths with which a supra-intellectual method of revelation had already enriched mankind. In modern times, therefore, the intellect has come to be credited with a capacity and right to reveal and establish for us even the highest truth it is possible for man to reach. This overabundance of faith in the intellect has even justified us in discrediting the claims of any higher instrument of knowledge, and judging by an ultimate standard of intellectual sanity, we do not generally favour anything which savours of much "mysticism." In many cases, we eliminate from this word its supra-intellectual implications and apply it to such thoughts or sentiments of writers and poets as clothe old mystic truths in the new intellectual garb.

All this, no doubt, is intellectualism regnant in the domain of modern philosophy. But it is not difficult to see that the whole movement of rationalistic thought from the days of Descartes started with a proud but utterly false presumption in favour of the intellect. The intellect really has neither the capacity

nor the right to manufacture final truths independently of the finality of a higher experience that lies beyond its limited province. Ultimately, all truths or realities must be experienced; they cannot be argued out. The function of inference or argument is to supplement experience and not to supplant it,—to stand for experience in its absence and not to supersede it in any way. For example, a man cannot occupy every point in the whole field of human experience, and so his intellect assumes for him by inference the existence of experiences beyond which he is placed for the time being. The intellect thus reproduces in his mind a whole world made up of, to adapt Mill's expression, "permanent possibilities" of experience. But this intellectual reproduction is not an actual truth of experience, and it must remain always open to experience to check its representation by intellect. In science, we seek to remedy in some measure this defect of a purely intellectual inference by experimentation. But scientific experiment also is only an indirect imitation of experience on the basis of certain previous working assumptions that have not yet failed. In modern science our reliance on actual experience is only comparatively much greater than in modern philosophy; but in both, we build less on experience determining intellectual activity and more on intellect doing duty for experience.

This exaltation of the intellect over experience which seems so natural to-day for our thought-life has gradually resulted in a total subversion of the true relation of the intellect to experience, consequent on a falsely limited view of experience. By experience we have come to mean a sensuous experience of the world, which, therefore, naturally requires us to impose an intellectual order on itself to yield us truths about itself. We have come to recognise this super-imposition of an intellectual order on experience as the only and the highest method in our

pursuit of truth, and to this method we have in the present discussion applied the name of intellectualism.

This intellectualism, or this arbitrary relation between intellect and experience, has been called in question by Prof. James and Prof. Bergson in Western philosophy. The former has conclusively proved in his "*The Pluralistic Universe*" that the manifold of experience can never be subsumed under the unifying tactics of the intellect. He has exposed what he calls the "vicious intellectualism" of the rationalistic method, and Prof. Bergson's analysis proves the existence of a higher intuition or experience in the light of which the whole intellectual order we impose on sense-intuitions is shown to be an artificial system of concocted relations that shuts us out from the real truth of experience constituting itself a makeshift to fill the gap of real experience. The intellect is thus proved to be a mere limb of experience as resolving itself into the form of this world. This latest note in Western philosophy makes a bold dive, therefore, towards supra-intellectual experience, as being the real criterion of final truths. It is impossible to deny that this revolt of philosophy against the despotism of the intellect is serving to bring Western thought into line with the Mayavada of Vedanta.

But this revolt should have to be raised not only from the camp of modern philosophy but also from that of modern religion. Intellectualism has reduced religion into intellectual thought and intellectual sentiment, and reduced its God to a mere intellectual existence and category. The reality of God as merging into itself all realities conceived by the intellect is persistently ignored. He is conceded a mere intellectual reality, which, however much all-pervading, has necessarily to co-exist with all the other realities that go to make up the universe of our intellect. A Nobel-prize poet declares that God, the Infinite, can only be realised in the finite,—can only

be realised as the indwelling Love and Beauty in the finite loves, beauties and joys of the universe and it is vain and insane to run after a transcendental beyond where these loves, beauties and joys are not. There is only an immanent God for man, and if there is anything transcendent in Him, it is not the transcendence of old mysticism or Vedantism, it is a transcendence reconcilable or compatible with immanence. And evidently, this reconciliation is a dodge of the intellect, for like the compatibility of the absolute and the relative in rationalistic philosophy, this reconciliation also is an intellectual conception. The intellect would naturally postulate a God in the flower, in the sky, in all the beauties and sublimities of the world it creates for itself. The intellect would naturally cry out: यो देवोऽग्नौ योऽप्सु यो विश्वभुवनमाविवेश योऽबध्नितु यो वनस्पतिषु, "The Shining One who is in the fire, who is in the water, who has entered in the whole universe, who is in the plants and trees" and so on. But all this is a lower order of truth into which the real truth of God is resolved in the interest of the intellect, and to exalt all this into a declaration of the highest truth of religion is a sorry trick of modern intellectualism.

We have already seen that the function of the intellect is to string together actualities of experience with its possibilities, setting up a composite mimicry of unimpeachable reality. It not only pretends to peering beyond the *here* and *now* of experience and then smuggles its romance however rational into our actual experience, but it also professes to dive beyond the surface of sense-experience to its substance, and then this pretended discovery is likewise smuggled into our actual experience. But with all these pretensions and professions, the dip of the intellect into space, time or substance beyond actual experience is never an equivalent of actual experience, and therefore the realities it brings us from such dippings are not realities of experience. They may be possibilities of

experience, yet to be proved as true, but good and enjoyable, may be, as intellectual products of constructive imagination. God in the things of joy, beauty and love is such an intellectual product, though its inspiration may just lift up our whole intellectual being into song or thrill of silence. It may all be religion but not the highest truth of religion. That truth is the truth of experience unalloyed by any taint of intellectual romancing. As the day dawns outside, the light of the lamp thrown on the window pane fades away; so when real experience comes intellect fades away into it with all the flickering shadows it created in the name of the intellectual order of the universe. This lamp-light of intellect is good for us in our night of experience, when all is not *now* and *here*, when all is not *is* but becoming, when nothing is experience but everything is assumption of experience on the authority of intellect,—where in one word experience does not burn and blaze up but smoulders and smokes up into intellectual experience. But when there is the blaze of real experience, the intellect fitly vanishes with all its shadowy creations, and there are no finite things of joy, love or beauty to which the Infinite God of the poet or the rationalist is to be tacked on.

This experience beyond intellect is the real experience, according to Vedanta, and all else is Maya or relative intellectual experience. When this real experience is, relative experience is not; and when relative experience is, real experience is not. It is one or the other, and not even a superimposition of the one on the other, for superimposition is a term of the intellect, of the relative experience. To the intellect one may be an actuality, the other a possibility, but such distinction may be a necessity of the intellect, but *not the truth*. This confession of a necessity which is an untruth is the highest that can be expected of the intellect. But modern intellectualism errs in that it is too proud to make this confession

which means the loftiest attitude of the intellect. The modern intellect would rather forego its highest than lose the vain glory of being regarded the greatest revealer of truth for man.

But suppose, the intellect preambles all the exercise of its authority in the domain of science and philosophy with the confession that the highest truth is a truth of experience lying beyond itself and that it functions merely as an indispensable makeshift in the absence of that experience, what are the benefits that would accrue to our culture from this correct intellectual attitude? In the first place, the growing conflict between the narrow empiricism of science and the proud rationalism of philosophy would come to an end. For not only the province of science as lying within the limits of our experience of matter and force would then be recognised, but degrees of supersensuous experience of matter and force would be admitted, fruitfully enlarging thereby the scientific views of substance and causality and rendering it possible to have a more final restatement and systematisation of scientific conclusions. For example, science has been enquiring into the potentialities of matter under the categories of molar and molecular force, and Dr. J. C. Bose's discoveries have covered new ground in this enquiry in the direction of sensibility. Now the super-sensuous Vedantic experience of causality in things in the form of *anandam* or the delight of specific manifestation may give a final impetus and direction to this investigation into potentialities. Super-sensuous experience, properly directed and utilised, would thus wonderfully enrich the scientific insight into the potentiality of things, obviating many difficulties and complexities of hypothetical lines of enquiry.

On the other hand, rationalistic philosophy professes to transcend matter and force by means of a process of involved reasonings, which science pledged to the authority of experience can never accept, and consequent-

ly a conflict of method and purpose has developed between the two. But if instead of relegating all experience to the sensuous plane of consciousness, modern philosophy comes to admit degrees of supersensuous experience as determining factors of intellectual activity, tending to make the intellect more and more inoperative, then the only possible ground of reconciliation between science and philosophy becomes established, for the demand for transcending the matter and force of common experience comes to be satisfied by both on fundamentally common lines of advance. The Sankhya system of thought in ancient India offered such common lines of advance both to ancient science and ancient philosophy.

Finally, the confession of the modern intellect of its intrinsic inability to reach the highest truth would bring into our life and culture the real import and sublimity of religion. Here the despotism of the intellect has illusionised all our approach towards spirituality and its truths. A God caught for ever within the net of the intellect, a God made to cling for ever behind the creations of the intellect however joyous and sublime, can inspire in us nothing better than an implicit or explicit clinging to all that the mere intellect may give us or do for us. It is all just the opposite extreme of deistic transcendence. In deism, the intellect sought to detach its excogitated God from everything else it created, while in the present-day doctrine of immanence, it seeks to attach that excogitated God to everything else it creates; but both the transcendence and immanence essentially imply the same process of intellectual assumption. It is only a twofold way of relating in space and time the two intellectual entities, namely God and the universe. The Vedantic transcendence and immanence (Nirguna and Saguna) on the other hand do not admit two entities at all,—the one transcending the other or immanent in the other. When it is transcendent there is nothing

else to transcend, when it is immanent there is nothing else to be immanent in, except it be a distinction made under the falsifying intellectual necessity. If, however, allowance has to be made for this intellectual necessity, the Vedantic doctrine of immanence seeks, in that case, to remedy intellectual absolutism by postulating a *self-embodying* divinity in all things over and above the rationalistic creed of an *indwelling* divinity in all things. This important postulate has the effect of denying finality to the creations of the intellect, making their reality provisional or symbolistic instead of absolute, and thus keeping it open for us to transcend them eventually. But the God of rationalistic immanence who inspires from behind the objects of the intellect necessitates our clinging to these objects for ever for the sake of that inspiration, for to realise His all-pervadingness, we cannot do without objects pervaded. Therefore, farewell to that renunciation which seeks to transcend the intellect and its creations, farewell to all supra-intellectual experience! It is the despotic intellect asserting itself at the expense of man's higher and truer spirituality. It is the despotism of the modern intellect condemning religion to an impoverished and stipendiary existence.

EPISTLES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.

CV.

(*Translated from Bengali*).

Allahabad,
30th Dec. 1889,

Dear Sir,

I wrote in a letter to you that I was to go to Benares in a day or two, but who can nullify the decree of Providence? News reached me that a brother-disciple, Y— by name, had been attacked with pox after reaching here from a pilgrimage to Chitrakuta, Omkarnath etc., and so I came to this place to nurse him. My brother-disciple has now completely re-

covered. Some Bengali gentlemen here are greatly of a pious and loving disposition. They are very lovingly taking care of me, and their importunate desire is that I stay here during the month of *Magh* in the keeping of the *Kalpa* vow.* But my mind is very keenly harping on the name of Benares and is quite set agog to see you. Yes, I am going to try my best to slip away and avoid their keen importunities in a day or two and betake myself to the holy realm of the Lord of Benares. If one of my monastic brother-disciples A—Saraswati by name, calls on you to enquire of me, please tell him, I am soon coming to Benares. He is indeed a very good man and learned. I was obliged to leave him behind at Bankipore. Are R— and S— still there in Benares? Please make it out and inform me whether the Kumbh fair this year is going to be held or not at Hardwar.

Many a man of wisdom, of piety, many a Sadhu or Pundit I have met in so many places, and I have been very much favoured by them, but "men are of varying tastes"; † I know not what sort of soul-affinity there is between us, for nowhere else it seems so pleasing and agreeable. Let me see how the Lord of Kashi disposes.

Yours etc.

Vivekananda.

My address is—

C/o Govinda Chandra Basu's house,
Chauk, Allahabad.

CVI.

(Translated from Bengali.)

O/o Babu Satishchandra Mukherji,
Gorabazar, Gazipur,
24th Jan. 1890.

Dear Sir,

I reached Gazipur three days ago. Here I am putting up in the house of Babu Satish

* i. e. special ablutions and worship regularly performed in that holy confluence of rivers,—a very solemn and sacred practice.

† भिन्नरचिर्हि लोकः, Kalidas, Raghuvansa.

Chandra Mukherji, a friend of my early age. The place is very pleasant. Close by flows the Ganges, but bathing there is troublesome, for there is no regular path and it is hard work wading through sands. Babu Ishan-chandra Mukherji, my friend's father, that noble-hearted man of whom I spoke to you is here. To-day he is leaving for Benares whence he will proceed to Calcutta. I had a great mind again to go over to Kashi, but the object of my coming here, namely an interview with Babaji ‡ has not yet been realised, and hence the delay of a few days becomes necessary. Everything here appears good, the people are all gentlemen, but very much westernised; and it is a pity, I am so thoroughly against every affectation of the Western idea. Only my friend affects very little of such ideas. What a frippery civilisation is, it indeed that the foreigners have brought over here! What a materialistic illusion have they created! May Viswanath save these weak-hearted! After seeing Babaji, I shall send you a detailed account.

Yours etc.

Vivekananda.

P. S. Alas for the irony of our fate, that in this land of Bhagawan Shuka's birth, renunciation is looked down upon as madness and sin!

CVII.

(Translated from Bengali.)

Gazipur,
31st Jan. 1890.

Dear Sir,

It is so very difficult to meet the Babaji. He does not step out of his home, and when willing to speak at all, he just comes near the door to speak from inside. I have come away with having just a view of his garden-house with chimneys tapering above and

‡ Pawhari Baba, the great saint.

encircled by high walls,—no means of admittance within! People say, there are cave-like rooms within, where he dwells, and he only knows what he does there, for nobody has had a peep. I had to come away one day sorely used up with waiting and waiting, but shall take my chance again. On Sunday, I leave for holy Benares,—only the Babus here won't let me off, otherwise all my fancy to see the Babaji has flattened down. I am prepared to be off to-day; but anyhow, I am leaving on Sunday. What of your plan of going to Hrishikesh?

Yours etc.

Vivekananda.

P. S. The redeeming feature is that the place seems healthy.

ON THE CONNING TOWER.

His Excellency Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal, held his last durbar at the Government House, Calcutta, on the 11th Dec. 1916, and the speech that he made on the occasion has an exceptional interest for the readers of the Prabuddha Bharata. He began with

H. E. Lord Carmichael's Last Durbar speech.

the topic of the war and spoke in words of sympathy about the political advancement which India is supposed to look forward to as her portion in the post-war readjustment of political relations within the whole British empire. But "whatever our individual ideas may be," he said then, "as to the direction in which we should move, whatever may be the ultimate goal to which we look, we shall surely all agree that enmity between the Government and the people is a hindrance and when such enmity exists we ought to try to understand its cause and to so modify things that mutual esteem may take the place of enmity."

His Excellency then went on to say that there is a risk of such enmity growing up if people are ignorant as to why precisely the Defence of India Act came to exist, how it operates and what good practical results it has achieved for us. So, in the first place, we should remember "that the Act, though due to the war and though passed mainly to

meet evils arising out of the war or connected directly with the war, was also passed in order to deal with a danger to society which existed in Bengal long before the war was even thought of by most people, and which may last and may even become worse after the war was ended." The Government has its beliefs and conclusions regarding this danger founded on as good evidence as it is under the circumstances, possible to obtain, and His Excellency the Governor lays these before the public in the following important extracts of his speech.

"I, and my colleagues, believe that there is in Bengal a wide spread well organised conspiracy, whose aim is to weaken the present form of Government, and if possible to overthrow it, by means which are criminal. No British Government can complain if the people whom it governs wish to modify its form or to take any legal steps to bring about change. Government may regret such a wish, it may oppose changes in every legal way, but it will not be true to British tradition if it does more. But no Government, British or not British, can tolerate the use of crime to overthrow it or to weaken it; a Government which did that would be untrue to the people whom it governs. It is our plain duty to put down the conspiracy with a firm hand.

"I believe and my colleagues believe that only too many men and boys are actively engaged in that conspiracy though with very varying degrees of complicity. We believe that there is one group—not perhaps a very large group—which forms, so to speak, the brain of the conspiracy. Its members instigate the crimes, they are men probably of keen intellect with much self control and much force of character, and they may be idealists, their criminality may be in thought rather than in action, they may never have fired a pistol or used a weapon of any kind, they may never themselves have stolen any thing, they may never themselves have profited by the result of crime, but they are most dangerous criminals, for they inspire others. If only those who constitute this brain of the conspiracy are once under Government control and rendered too powerless to influence others or if they once cease to exist, the conspiracy will die.

"Then there is a group of men who are, so to speak, the hands of the conspiracy, men who actually commit the crime; some of them have been accessory to murder, some of them have themselves committed murder—in some cases more than once—and almost all of them have been dacoits. It is not always easy to say what their motives are, originally perhaps we may give them that credit—they were actuated by what seemed to themselves and to their associates high ideals, but

most of them have long since become common criminals. Whatever may be the ideals which actuate those who suggest the crimes, those who commit them follow for the most part the same impulses which lead common criminals to commit brutal murders and robberies. Greed, desire of gain, desire for reprisal or to protect themselves, it is these which make them ready agents to carry out the crimes suggested or planned by others; bold men they may be, even at times courageous, patient probably, and with the skill and cunning that comes to all whose hand is set against society. This group too is of vital importance to the conspiracy for if all those who form it were caught or should cease to exist the conspiracy would, at least for a time, be powerless. Hands are as necessary to the conspiracy if it is to do anything as its brain is. But the two groups are formed from different types of men, and recruits may perhaps be more easily got for the group who form the hands than for the group who form the brain. It is not that the qualities needed in the brain are rarer than those needed in the hands, among a people so quick-witted and of such subtle intellect as the Bengalis. Probably it is all the other way, but I trust I am right in believing that of those youths likely to be led astray from the right path there are fewer among those who could bring good brains to the conspiracy than among those who can become efficient hands; and as the truth becomes better known, I feel sure this will be even more so.

"But besides those whom I have described as the brain and those whom I have spoken of as the hands of the conspiracy, there is a large number of persons, many of them quite young men and boys, connected though some in a much less degree than others with the conspiracy. Many of these may almost be said to be innocent, others are nearly as guilty, from the point of view of the State as those who form the brain or the hands, but they all help the brain or the hands. Some help in organising the movement, they have no intention of ever committing a dacoity or a murder themselves, they have not the courage needed for that, but they make it easier for bolder men than themselves to do these things. They give or let out their houses as resorts to those who are engaged in crime; they help to arrange for the defence of any members of the organisation who are prosecuted in a law court. To my mind the worst are those who act as recruiters for the movement. These men gradually induce young men and boys who have never looked on crime except with horror, to shrink from it less and less, and finally even to admire it and to assume a frame of mind that will eventually make them willing to commit it. Only too often these men are school masters and are thus in a good position to influence young men. They

act in the most insidious way, they use the noblest part of a boy's nature as a means to their end, they work on his feelings of patriotism, on his unselfishness, on his willingness to help suffering.

"These recruiters are enemies to their own country, and it is about them that there is the greatest ignorance. It is their guilt which is most hard to prove. They act necessarily in a hidden way, they have to practise deceit, and they teach deceit. They have their difficulties, they have to undermine the loyalty taught by fathers and guardians, and they have to overcome the natural aversion to crime of the youngmen themselves. What we know of them we have learned almost wholly from those whom they have led astray, but who have often too keen a sense of honour and are sometimes too frightened to tell all they know. In attaining their end they use terrorism as well as persuasion, and I feel certain I am sorry to say that they often seize the opportunity which membership in a charitable society like the Ramkrishna Mission or participation in the relief of distress gives them to meet and to influence boys who have noble ideas, but who have not enough experience to judge where a particular course must lead. I have the highest respect for the Ramkrishna Mission and for societies like it. I know of nothing more worthy of encouragement than the social service which these societies exist to promote and there is nothing in India which I deplore more deeply, or of which it has been harder to convince me than the fact that mean and cruel men do join these societies in order to corrupt the minds of young men who would, if only they were not interfered with, be benefactors to their fellow-countrymen.

"Such societies naturally attract public sympathy. People think that all who take part in their work must be good men. Parents are glad to see their sons joining them little thinking that in doing so they run the risk of becoming enemies to their country. You can do no greater service to your country than by trying to prevent these societies being used by those who are doing such infinite harm not only to Bengal but to all India. One step leads to another, an innocent boy, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of devotion to his motherland, anxious to do something to make his fellow-countrymen happier and better, is employed, perhaps as a messenger, he may have no idea of the character of the messages he is taking, but in taking them he gets to know persons who are themselves steeped in crime, who want to implicate him in crime and who do their best to implicate him in crime. When he finds out the truth he may wish—such boys have, I know, often

wished to escape, to give up evil practices, but then come in the terrorism, he is threatened, it is pointed out to him that he has taken an oath that is their custom—to serve the conspiracy, he is told he is shown evidence to convince him—that the conspiracy is more powerful to hurt than Government is, for it can give information about him if it likes, to the police, and it can bring about his death if he offends it. Boys are thus led to give up all hope of reform, they are induced to play some small part, merely perhaps that of a watcher in a dacoity, they then take a larger part, gradually they become dacoits, perhaps even murderers.

“That is the risk which many young men in Bengal—the sons and relations of loyal men of Government servants—sometimes of my own friends—undoubtedly run. I absolutely believe this, and I shall act very wrongly indeed if I do not do all I can to stop it. I am sure that you will think that Government assuming for the moment that things are as I believe they are, can hardly be too stern in the measures which it takes against the brain or against the hands of the conspiracy and particularly in stopping the machinations of the recruiters, and if you think, as I fancy you will, that Government ought to be tender in dealing with those poor boys whom I have described as being often thoughtlessly, sometimes unwillingly, caught in the tools of the conspirators, I shall not disagree with you. But if you think the matter out, you will, I believe, admit that until the really wicked dangerous people are under control, Government will not act fairly by the mass of the people, if it refrains from any measures, even those which seem somewhat severe, which tend to break up that part of the organization which helps the dangerous men and which is used as a recruiting ground to swell their ranks. In the interests of the boys themselves, and still more in the interests of other boys, who are their comrades in innocent occupations and who may therefore easily become their comrades in what may lead to guilt, we must take steps to prevent those who are not yet hopelessly involved in crime, but who certainly are dangerously near being involved in it, from running further risks or from doing even if unwittingly, harm to the public weal.”

After this His Excellency went on to explain the nature of the evidence on which the above conclusions and beliefs are founded. “It is not only, or chiefly, the evidence of Police officers or of ordinary informers. By far the greater part of it is that of men who admit that they themselves have taken a share in the crimes or in helping others to commit the crimes.” No attempt to secure punishment in a court of law on the

strength of such evidence can be held fair or good legal practice, in as much as the evidence is derived from statements made under arrest; and although such evidence seems to His Excellency to be clear and even overwhelming, it is impossible to give publicity to it without exposing the lives of those, from whom information is or may be obtained, to the utmost danger. So it is at present impracticable for the Government to carry popular opinion with themselves,—publicly to prove that the facts are as they believe them to be. “That we shall prove this eventually I have no doubt, but we cannot do so yet. All we can do just now is to indicate the nature of our conclusions, and to ask you to believe, if you can conscientiously do so, that our conclusions may be well founded.”

And to form these conclusions, His Excellency points out, the Defence of India Act has been of great help to the Government. “Knowledge slowly and gradually gained through the use of the Defence of India Act has given us a sure foundation for our action, and we have a right to feel satisfied that we did not act in a hurry, and therefore did not act unjustly but are acting effectively.” “As I said a few minutes ago our administration of the Act may at times have to be modified, it must be adapted to circumstances as they arise. As our knowledge becomes more complete and as we get more control over the most dangerous of those with whom we are contending we shall be able to rightly refrain from using our full powers against those who are less dangerous. Some of those with whom we are contending are implacable enemies of the state, whom it is humanly speaking impossible to reclaim, against these we must exercise our fullest powers, we should be wrong to do otherwise, but there are others who may, I hope, sooner or later be reclaimed, and I assure you that Government does not lose sight of that fact. Government does discriminate and does treat one individual differently from another when it believes it safe and wise to do so.”

His Excellency concluded then with the following appeal: “There are many other points on which I should like to speak to you, but I must not take up more of your time. I will only remind you that a Government, though it may be powerful and successful, can never from the British point of view be a good Government unless it is trusted by the people, and I beg you to think whether you cannot use your influence not only to prevent people from coming to hasty conclusions, to which they would not come if they had fuller knowledge, but also to prepare the way for a fair and full consideration of the question which must in any case come up after the war, and which I personally think cannot come up too soon, the question of

how to alter a state of affairs under which so many of our thoughtful and best-intentioned youngmen are ready to tolerate, some of them even to join, a conspiracy which in the interests of Bengal more than any other part of the Empire it is our duty to destroy. If you can do this you will do well, for you will help to win for the service of the Empire abilities and enthusiasm which will, I believe, do not less here than similar abilities and enthusiasm have done in other parts of King George's Dominions to make the Empire one of which His Imperial Majesty and all of us shall alike be proud."

It is impossible to read the above speech in any careless or light vein of mind, for it is punctuated with an earnestness which compels attention. We regret the more therefore that there are important points in which we have to differ from His Excellency. We fully agree as to the existence of the disease, its banefulness, its virulence, and we are sure, we are no less earnest in our desire to combat it; for it is a terrible eruption on the sacred body of our society the very blood of which is going to be corrupted beyond remedy by the virus of political nationalism. But just as when doctors differ, they silently part company, neither trying to thrust his own opinion or method on the other, so it is in India with the official and the popular opinion. What has Government done, we ask, to ascertain the real opinion of the people about this terrible social disease preying like a new, furious, crushing, heedless demon on the health, the peace, the happiness of our society? Let us plainly declare to-day that our political leaders are not the only leaders of our society, for they cannot gauge fully all the real mischief that is being done to society by this eruption of political anarchism. Their own vision is bounded by political nationalism, and they can condemn anarchical outbursts only as unconstitutional excesses. But the growing impulse of political ambitions must needs work itself up into a passion, and no man on earth can ever suggest any guarantee that this passion shall not step beyond the limit of the constitutional. So it is in the very nature of things impossible that our political leaders will ever be able to propose to the Government any possible means of enforcing the constitutional limit on the political aspirations and impulses of all men that they seek to baptize into their creed of political nationalism.

But it is exactly these Indian exponents of political nationalism only that our Government condescends to take counsel with in this matter. The result is—a repetition in India of an old chapter in the political history of Western countries, only in the case of India such a chapter is bound most tragically to be the concluding one. For political struggles may put new life into a people in whose history politics is both the starting-point and the organising and governing end, but in India life has to be organised from another direction with another scale of values and any exaggerated emphasis on political aspirations and struggles is sure to bleed the country to death. This bleeding, the enormous waste of energy and manhood, of "enthusiasm and abilities," has begun, and no man who loves India, who feels for the noble destiny, the spiritual mission, she has to fulfil under the auspices of the great British Empire, can view the terrible situation without the keenest pangs of regret and anxiety,—the deepest cause for regret being that the leaders of "educated" India still fail to discover the initial mistake of seeking to plunge all the patriotism and manhood of the country into the flood-tide of a political nationalism from which it is, and has been always, the mission of India to save the higher culture and spirituality of mankind in age after age. And the deepest cause for anxiety is that the Government taking a superficial view of the political disease, unenlightened as to the real radical methods of combating it and relying solely on experiences in Western history, has committed itself to a superficial and negative course of stringent political repression. It is like the blind coming to slashing blows and mailed grips with the blind!

The theory of His Excellency Lord Carmichael of a widespread conspiracy may be indisputable, for on a soil constantly manured by discontent and fear, the poisonous vegetation of desperate politics may naturally tend to have a widespread growth. But no cultured man in this twentieth century will say that the only remedy is in applying the repressive hand to weed out the growth. Neither can speeches,—occasional expositions of policy to reassure the surface-mind of the public,—impart that health to the soil the want of which declares itself in poisonous vegetation. Some amount of

positive, practical work has to be done on the soil, and in this the Government and the popular leaders must join hands. The former must do what it can to remove the water-logged marshes of discontent due to invidiousness in treatment, and the latter must replant and till the soil for the real Indian crop of spiritual nationalism. In the pages of this journal, we have been explaining month after month how all the real evils India is suffering from are due to *disorganisation*, how spiritual nationalism gives us the only method of *organisation* in Indian life and how political nationalism means for all a *misorganisation* of life and for India, death. Both the Government and the popular leaders in India should care to study these ideas and principles which the great Swami Vivekananda was just one generation ahead, it seems, in propounding for the future good of India and of the world.

His Excellency has analysed the conspiracy into its three limbs of activity,—the brain-work, the actual overt acts, and the recruiting and supporting work. From the first limb come the principles and the plans, from the second the practical courage and self-sacrifice, and the last limb acts as feeders, links and recruiters. So it is the first limb, or the brain, which keeps the conspiracy from dissolution and supplies its vitality. Now we would invite all thoughtful men to go deeper and find out the source which keeps this brain of the conspiracy in good gear and supply. The cause must be equal to the whole effect produced or going to be produced, and the intense enmity to Government which characterises the anarchical movement must be the outcome of definite ideas and principles which in working themselves out cannot wholly remain out of sight. Suppose there is a large body of educated men whose minds are imbued with the Western type of patriotism born of the political ideal of nationalism. They naturally start with the fundamental idea that the line of progress for every country necessarily lies along political advancement, that is, the acquiring, more and more, of political rights and privileges. Once committed to this chosen line of advance, these men find all their hopes and efforts for the sake of their country centred irrevocably in the possibility of the Government giving up, bit by bit, its monopoly of all political power. So between themselves and the whole looming pros-

pect of their country's welfare, they find the Government placed firm and for ever as the only repository of all that they want for the future well-being of their country.

Starting thus, with a political idea of progress and organisation in collective life, these educated men develop a growing concentration of their hopes and energies on what they expect from the Government, opposing what they do not expect from it and patiently watchful for what they expect. But behind this watchful patience and opposition there is, in the case of India, no organised collective mind, and therefore factors of individual temperament operate to diversify very easily the nature of this patience and opposition. We cannot say where and with what amount of pressure the limit of patience or of constitutional opposition may be transcended or not. And where such limit is transcended, the whole fury of a patriotic mind consecrated to the regeneration of a mother-country comes out in the irresistible momentum of enmity to Government. This is briefly the plain psychology of the anarchist mind in India, and it cannot be refuted by exceptional instances of purely individual grudge, or the like, which may be found to sow the seeds of anarchy in many minds. In the political government of a country, there may be a party in office and a party in opposition, both being equally the limbs of the government, but in India there cannot be opposition in this sense, and if our ambitions inspired by political nationalism seek to convert the whole energy required for the upbuilding of collective life in India into the form of a political opposition or struggle, it is idle to expect that this opposition or struggle will not, in ever-recurring instances and scattered sections of public life, ripen and rot into anarchical excesses.

So it is essentially the political sphere of our public activities in India that cannot but constitute the breeding ground of desperate or unconstitutional politics. It is there that the inspiration to devote oneself to the political welfare of India comes into the life of educated individuals, and the fact that constitutional politicians preside over this sphere of our public thought and activity can never be here in India any sufficient guarantee against that inspiration carrying many at times and some at least

for good beyond constitutional principles or methods. This truth is quite plain to all, to the Government as well as to our political leaders. Political nationalism is briefly an organic scheme of collective life in which politics is the supreme governing and organising end or pursuit, and in India this politics (state-craft) being a sort of monopolised pursuit people bent on working out a political nationalism must have to struggle to break this monopoly and participate in politics or life of the state. So once the keen passion of this struggle, a struggle which political nationalism interprets as one of national life or death, is let loose all over the country, can the choice of weapons be confined everywhere and always within the limit of the constitutional?

But let once our nationalistic ideas be recast and reshaped by that spiritual type of nationalism which forms not only the key to the understanding of Indian history, but constitutes further its central significance and promise, its very life-principle seeking to manifest itself in growing richness of organisation, and we shall find all the many grave difficulties and evils which beset our task of nation-building on one hand and the smooth exercise by the Government of its political authority on the other, gradually disappearing before us. For spiritual nationalism leads us along a line of national advance which does not stretch and thrust itself through the very heart of those political interests and rights which the British Government feels bound to cling to as inalienably its own, but political nationalism necessarily implies such a line of advance. Last two months we have been discussing this and other important points of difference involved in a choice between the two types of nationalism and we would not repeat them here. But surely a choice has been lying before us ever since the West knocked at our door with the cry of organisation, the demand of the modern age, and even when our educated men were meeting that cry with a blind enthusiasm for political nationalism, Swami Vivekananda was sent amongst us to point out with inspired eloquence that the choice lying before us was verily one of life and death, for political nationalism is bound to spell our death while spiritual nationalism has ever been the irrevocable choice of India.

The Ramkrishna Mission founded by the Swami Vivekananda regards his "Lectures from Colombo to Almora," which contain all this prophetic warning, as its *Veda* of nationalistic work. The Government is interested in the Ramkrishna Mission, but does it take the trouble of studying its views and principles, not a shade of which remains unpublished? And among the so-called representatives of the people, there was even no voice heard in the councils to call attention to the sad mistakes about the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda which two years ago the Bengal Administration Report sought to put in record. We are sincerely thankful to His Excellency, the Governor of Bengal, for his kind assurance of respect for the Ramkrishna Mission; and we earnestly invite His Excellency and all high-placed functionaries and officials called upon by God to rule over the destinies of our people to ascertain for themselves that the ideals and methods of the Ramkrishna Mission are really worthy of the respect of all men without distinction of race, creed or office. There is nothing esoteric or private, nothing underhand or sly in whatever the Mission thinks or does. There is absolutely no 'pretentious uncommunicativeness about the holy Sadhus who compose the Governing Body of the Mission. Their lives, their thoughts, their aspirations are all public property. Their spokesman Swami Vivekananda made no secret of their definite views on the problems of life, individual and collective, and these views are openly and publicly discussed in the periodicals and organs of the movement. So can there be anything less difficult for government officials to ascertain than the modes of life, thought and work for which the Ramkrishna Mission stands?

And yet we have to conclude with a humble word of remonstrance for certain wrong implications which His Excellency's statements regarding the Ramkrishna Mission may be too easily interpreted to contain. These statements are evidently based on informations of which the colour and complexion would surely have been much modified had they been checked by explanations taken from the Mission itself, and His Excellency may be assured by police officers that the Mission has all along evinced its willingness and promptitude in

helping them to explain facts where such help has been required of it. In the present case we were given no access to those informations on which His Excellency based his conclusion "that mean and cruel men do join these societies in order to corrupt the minds of young men who would, if only they were not interfered with, be benefactors to their fellow-countrymen." This statement seems to imply that recruiting officers of the political conspiracy get themselves admitted as members into the Ramkrishna Mission so that by exerting a stronger or superior influence on the minds of young members they may snatch them away from the inspiration and influence exercised on them by the elder members. But so far as the monastic section of our movement is concerned, the feat which the recruiting conspirators are believed to aspire after is an impossible one, for the monastic body behind the Ramkrishna Mission is an organisation so compact, so disciplined and so fully self-consecrated to definite ideals and principles that every interloper who comes in direct touch for a day or two with it will at once see that it is impossible for any outside influence to prove itself stronger than the influence which the elders of the order exert on the noviciates who are once accepted into it. The central monastic organisation of the Ramkrishna Mission is not like a public society which men having certain common interests in life join, while certain other interests may very well keep their lives loose from one another. It is an organisation which takes up individual lives in all their aspects and concerns and incorporates them for ever.

It is evident therefore to everybody who cares to acquaint himself with facts as they are that in the case of such a monastic order decidedly more than in the case of any mere association or society in the country, no individual member can go astray from the principles and methods of service to the country laid down for his guidance by the whole organisation, for any tendency on his part to go astray will be very easily found out and will eventually bring about his expulsion from the order. This close, compact, highly centralised monastic body determines the ideals and principles of the Ramkrishna Mission, and guides, controls and initiates its corporate activities. But there is an outer sphere for public co-operation in its religious

and philanthropic undertakings which plays absolutely no part in the formulation of its fundamental principles and guiding policies. Within this outer sphere, followers and sympathisers, professedly attached to the principles for which the Mission stands, seek to co-operate with the monastic body as lay workers in the public undertakings of the Mission, religious or philanthropic. Now these followers and sympathisers from the public may have either a formally recognised status in the Ramkrishna Mission or may be mere informal workers temporarily allowed to co-operate on account of their strong sympathy and enthusiasm for the ideals and principles inculcated by the Ramkrishna Mission. Among this floating body of the followers and sympathisers there may be some who have even obtained their *mantras* for spiritual practices from some adorable holy source, informally but intimately identified with the monastic order, but this fact does not necessarily imply their formal or informal connection with the monastic order of the Ramkrishna Mission.

Now these lay workers and sympathisers, formally or informally connected with the Ramkrishna Mission and co-operating in its work, have not their whole lives placed absolutely under the discipline and control of the monastic order as in the case of its own members. So although the influence and guidance of the central monastic body, must be paramount throughout this outer circle of co-operation, it is impossible to guarantee that there shall not be any sneaking, skulking element of contrary influence seeking to promote some sinister seditious purpose under the guise of submissive co-operation in some public work of the Ramkrishna Mission. We may come across such guilty disguises anywhere and everywhere in the country when once we are sure that political conspirators are abroad. No public societies, no Government offices, no big establishments, are safe against the insidious approach and intrusion of the disguised conspirator, for he cares to use every organised concern, pursuit and contrivance of human life for his own purposes. So the Ramkrishna Mission should not be made the scapegoat for all this liability to which all institutions, official as well as non-official, are equally exposed. Rather the Ramkrishna Mission of all public societies least

offers a recruiting ground for these conspirators, for of all public bodies the Ramkrishna Mission has most definitely set its face against the political type of service and patriotism for one's mother-country. It is more difficult to smuggle a disguised political firebrand into the general body of workers in the Ramkrishna Mission than anywhere else.

But nobody denies that there is the possibility always of disguised conspirators seeking to use the name or the credit of the Ramkrishna Mission for their evil purposes. No case of trying to abuse formal membership has yet been exposed, though the word "membership" occurs, perhaps loosely, in His Excellency's speech. What is the remedy against such abuse of the privilege of co-operation? We think the only possible remedy lies in greater circumspection and strictness on the part of the Ramkrishna Mission in granting to anybody outside its monastic organisation this privilege of actual co-operation, and secondly in some practicable interchange of mutual help between the police and the monastic body in tracing and exposing cases of disguised political motive. But we should remember at the same time that if there is any scope anywhere in the country for real, radical reclamation of political suspects and enthusiasts who have still the promise in them of a truer life of service, then that scope can be looked for only in that discipline of thought and life which the monastic order of the Ramkrishna Mission undertakes to impose through its spiritual ideals of service and patriotism, for it is only a higher enthusiasm that can truly supersede in the human mind a lower one, for we can only kill it by transcending but never by repressing.

NEWS AND MISCELLANIES.

THE next issue of the 'Prabuddha Bharata,' will, as usual, appear in March combining both the numbers for February and March, 1917. It will be our "Vivekananda number." All Vedanta Ashramas and Vivekananda Societies celebrating the anniversary of Swami Vivekananda are requested to send in their reports for insertion in the Prabuddha Bharata within an early date.

A glance at the pages of the 5th Annual Report of the Ramkrishna Mission Sevashrama, Muthi-gunge, Allahabad, 1915, convinces the reader of

the growing usefulness of the Sevashrama in one of the prominent places of pilgrimage in India. The record of the work of the Sevashrama for the year under review gives unmistakeable evidence of the utility of the institution and of its growing popularity amongst the poor pilgrims and inhabitants of the city. Altogether 6,809 (new cases) sick poor (as against 6,478 in the year 1914 and 5,060 in the year 1913) were treated this year of which 5731 were Hindus, 956 Mahomedans, and 40 Christians and 82 were of other denominations. Altogether 13,738 out-door patients were treated. These figures indicate undoubtedly that the Sevashrama has been trying to remove a sore and urgent need of the place, the work of relief being carried on here in a purely unsectarian spirit. There is no arrangement of treating indoor patients here as yet, which is very badly needed. In order to meet this necessity, the Swami in-charge wants that a plot of land be acquired first, a hospital of six beds provided and a surgery attached and a separate room for infectious cases be erected. Funds are required for the purpose. It appeals earnestly to the public therefore to help it with money. During this year the funds have fallen off a great deal. And if this state of things continues, there is no chance in the immediate future of its presenting a more improved aspect. We wish the Sevashrama all success in its appeal to the sympathising public for funds to carry out its benevolent project.

THE R-k. Mission Sevashrama at Kankhal treated during the months of October and November, 1916, 33 old cases and 107 new in its indoor department, and 6377 cases of which 2575 were new in its outdoor dispensary. Total receipts during the months were Rs. 2916-15-9 and expenses Rs. 398-6-0. Out of the above amount Rs. 750 was received from the Rani of Searsole, Bengal in second instalment and Rs. 1250 from Sett Ramdass Kissendass of Bombay for constructing two rooms of its proposed general ward. Babu Saroja Kanta Ray Chowdhury, Zamindar of Taki has kindly promised to bear the expenses of constructing another room in the General Ward for the poor and helpless patients in memory of his late revered father. The amount required for constructing 3 rooms in the General Ward has already been accounted for. Funds for constructing another room in the said ward, are only required. So the Sevashrama continues its appeal to the generous public. In our many issues we explained to the public the utility and necessity of such a ward for the benefit of the poor and helpless people that come on a pilgrimage to that part of the country from all over India. We hope, the appeal to be responded to promptly by the generous public.